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ABSTRACT

One of a series which examines recurrent education in countries which are members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), this document examines continuing education in France. The series is intended both to describe existing educational practice with regard to continuing education and to attempt an estimation of future developments in the field. Chapter I, Continuing Occupational Training and Recurrent Education, discusses the aims of continuing education in France and examines what is actually happening in this area of education today. The second chapter, Continuing Occupational Training as an Intermediate Stage between Innovation and the Reproduction of Existing Social Patterns, describes the steps which have been taken toward establishing a pattern of alternating periods of work and training. Difficulties encountered at the school and university levels and in industry are examined. The document concludes with annexes of statistical information. (Author/RM)

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RECURRENT EDUCATION

POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT IN OECD MEMBER COUNTRIES

FRANCE

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OECD
ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)

RECURRENT EDUCATION

POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT IN OECD MEMBER COUNTRIES

FRANCE

by

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1976

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PREFACE

Recurrent education, on which CERI has been carrying out preparatory work over the last few years, has rapidly become one of the most interesting and promising alternatives for the future development of the educational system and its interaction with the world of work.

Through two recent publications called: Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning (CERI/OECD, 1973), and Recurrent Education: Trends and Issues (CERI/OECD, 1975), CERI has made explicit the assumptions on which a policy for recurrent education is based and tried to identify its relation to social and labour market policies, as well as presenting an assessment of recent developments in the field.

The essence of the concept is that it distributes education over the lifespan of the individual in a recurring way. This means a development away from the present practice of a long interrupted pre-work period of full-time schooling. It also implies the alternation of education with the individual's other activities in life - principally, of course, his work: but his leisure time and even his retirement might also be included. Hence the essential potential outcome of recurrent education would be the individual's liberation from the strict sequence of education-work-leisure-retirement and his freedom to mix and alternate these phases of life within the limit of what is socially possible and to the satisfaction of his own desires and needs.

At this point, CERI has considered it as essential to endeavour to present the actual developments in Member countries concerning recurrent education. As part of this project on recurrent education CERI is issuing a number of country reports on this subject. These reports are intended both to describe existing educational provision which qualifies for classification under the heading of recurrent education, and to attempt an estimation of future developments in this field.

The present report on France will be followed by other reports from OECD Member countries. Reports are already available for Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the State of New York, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia.

J.R. Gass
Director
Centre for Educational
Research and Innovation

INTRODUCTION

In France, as in a number of other countries, recurrent education ("éducation recurrente") remains a little-known concept. At one time, it was usual to hear the terms "adult training" ("formation des adultes") or "social advancement" ("promotion sociale"), but "lifelong education" ("éducation permanente") or "continuing training" ("formation continue") are now more current. However, relatively little seems to be said about "alternating education" ("enseignement alterné").

In reality the stage is dominated by the controversy over the Agreement of 9th July, 1970, and the Act of 16th July, 1971, and the more or less sporadic efforts to implement them.

The policy on what is known as continuing occupational training is the product of the convergence and, no doubt, a compromise between several approaches:

a) a utilitarian approach: on-the-job training, more generally called in-service training. The system of accelerated adult occupational training, set up just after the war to provide the skilled manpower needed by an economy in course of reconstruction, should be regarded as an endeavour to rationalise this approach;

b) an institutional humanistic approach: the origin of advanced occupational training schemes under the responsibility of the national education authorities (which date back a very long time) and the further training courses provided under what is known as the Astier Act of 25th July, 1919;

c) a militant humanistic approach: covering popular education, open universities and training for communal responsibilities, i.e. the training of trade union officials.

These approaches have provided a source of data for the following:

- a number of study commissions which met between 1960 and 1968;
- the "Commissariat au Plan" and the "Commissions du Plan";
- the legislation enacted in 1959, 1966, 1968 and 1971.

The national education authorities had by no means exclusive responsibility for formulating the doctrine explicit in the 1971 Act or devising the structures the Act has introduced. Nor are these

authorities required to conduct the policy on continuing occupational training, since this falls to an interministerial body responsible to the Prime Minister(1). This is not to say that the national education authorities are strangers to the recurrent education movement, but it does mean that any transformation of the education system likely to be achieved by that movement will owe at least as much to outside initiative as to the efiorts made within the institutionalised school system.

If such objectives are to be achieved, the policy on continuing occupational training must pick its way between adult occupational training and recurrent education, between the forces of innovation and the forces bent on reproducing existing social patterns.

1) Secrétariat Général de la Formation Professionnelle - 72, rue de Varenne, 75007 Paris.

Chapter I

CONTINUING OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING AS A CONCEPT BETWEEN ADULT OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING AND RECURRENT EDUCATION

1. Aims

Three important enactments paved the way to the Act of 16th July, 1971, namely those of 31st July, 1959, 3rd December, 1966 and 31st December, 1968. The objective of the Act of 16th July, 1971 was to adapt and consolidate previous solutions in the context of the new conditions established between employers' associations and trade unions under the Agreement of 9th July, 1970.

The Act of 31st July, 1959 sought to make "various provisions to promote social advancement".

The Act of 3rd December, 1966 covered the "orientation and planning of occupational training".

The Act of 16th July, 1971 dealt with "the organisation of continuing occupational training within the context of lifelong education". This should be understood to mean:

- the recognition of the worker's entitlement to training with a view to acquiring, consolidating and improving job skills;
- the affirmation of each worker's freedom to choose the type of training that conforms to his job plans and personal expectations;
- the development of joint action in the training field between the government and the social partners and between employers and wage-earners;
- an effort to satisfy the demand of the economy for skilled workers, primarily by establishing a flexible and adaptable training system to offset the difficulties experienced in achieving long-term forecasts of manpower requirements;
- the encouragement of investigation and experiment with a view to reorganising work and changing job allocation, and
- thereby promoting collective - not merely individual - advancement of the most underprivileged socio-occupational groups;
- helping to change the education system, introducing new teaching methods and bringing the school world closer to the world of work.

It is in these respects that continuing occupational training falls into the context of lifelong education. It does not, however, cover the same areas as lifelong education, in the sense that, as stated under Section 1 of the Act, it embraces subsequent training (i.e. that offered to workers already employed or seeking employment) and occupational training or training with a view to employment. This definition does not exclude measures to help young people to obtain their first employment or in connection with general training, when the aim is to improve workers' understanding of the economic and social context of their working life. On the other hand, it excludes any measure of initial training, i.e. training in schools or universities to prepare young people for subsequent jobs.

2. A transitional system

The system established under the Agreement of 9th July, 1970 and the Act of 16th July, 1971 (the contractual and legislative aspects are inseparable) is based on five provisions:

- The possibility for an employee to leave his work in order to receive training, on either his own initiative or his employer's. This is the "training leave" for which both the Agreement and the Act make provision in the same terms, but is not necessarily paid leave.
- The employer's annual obligation to contribute funds for the continuing occupational training of his employees, known for short as "participation", which was fixed by the Act at 0.8 per cent of the wage bill in 1972 and 1973 and at 1 per cent in 1974. These funds are not necessarily used to finance training leave but may also serve to finance the training of workers who do not fulfil the requirements for obtaining training leave.
- Consultation of the works council by the employer (whose options remain open) concerning the way in which the participation funds are to be used. The works council is also notified of the way the system of training leave is operated and is therefore, in theory, the keystone of the legally constituted system.
- The mobilisation of all available training resources under agreements concluded between training institutes and individual firms or the government.
- Selective intervention by the government to finance schemes which do not come within the competence of firms or call for a particularly substantial effort on their part.

These provisions have been criticised in several respects:

Leave of absence is not always paid. As the government does not automatically finance training courses that are not run by firms, it

is objected that workers' entitlement to training leave is in fact purely theoretical.

After consultations with the works council, the employer is entirely free to decide how to use the participation funds. It is felt that he is therefore only likely to finance training he considers useful to the firm and that he will personally select the trainees.

The third criticism is that existing arrangements entail the more or less deliberate sacrifice of the public education system in favour of a parallel system whose quality and compatibility with the first are doubtful, to say the least. The fact is that the system in question is transitional. It is, of course, possible to conceive of a system within which training leave has to be paid for by the firm, participation funds are jointly managed, and unlimited opportunities are provided for all to pursue activities which are not job oriented. However, these were not the solutions adopted by the social partners in the Agreement of 9th July, 1970, on which the Act of 16th July 1971 was largely based. Moreover, although legislation must sometimes anticipate events, legislators are hardly in a position to do so when this means upsetting the balance of power which produces the legislation in question.

On the other hand, educational institutions cannot be given the monopoly of the required projects. The educational crisis is not essentially due to inadequate funds. It is a sign of something more than the difficulty of adapting planning techniques to education policy. It is not only the result of inertia in the educational system or the time required to respond to attempts to change its organisation; nor is it solely attributable to the compartmentalisation which persistently tends to reproduce an unacceptable social division of labour from generation to generation; the crisis must also have arisen from the fact that the educational system is not sufficiently open to the world around it and does not really fulfil its role of preparing the young for modern life and developing their sense of responsibility.

By extending the system of agreements and laying stress on non-school forms of education, the Act of 16th July, 1971 sought to remain true to its own view of permanent education. By bringing the university and industry face to face, the Act sought to encourage the university to move outside its precincts into the world of work where it would find new problems and new ways of looking at old ones.

In relation to the educational system, however, continuing training may be regarded as having:

- a corrective purpose, namely to help to adjust any distortions which may arise between the requirements of the economy and the output of the educational system;
- a complementary purpose, namely to assist diploma-holders to adapt to specific jobs;

- a remedial purpose, i.e. to restore equality of opportunity among workers by offering them possibilities of occupational and social advancement.

In these circumstances the types of training provided by schools cannot, by definition, fulfil the first two purposes. Although there is no reason why they should not help to fulfil the third, the problem arises as to whether resources (both money and personnel) should be allocated to initial or subsequent forms of training and it is hardly conceivable that this problem should be left solely to the educational institutions to solve in a period when shortages have not yet been eliminated.

3. Continuing training in practice

One of the by no means negligible effects of the Act of 16th July, 1971 has been to mobilise a substantial volume of resources for continuing occupational training, first through the financial obligation placed on firms and, secondly, through the increased government budget appropriations.

The first year in which employers were required to participate in the financing of continuing occupational training, the 110,000 returns sent in by the firms concerned showed that average expenditure was higher than the fiscal requirement - Frs.2,180 million, or 1.15 per cent of the wage bill - although it is true that only Frs.1,510 million were spent under the heading of participation, which means that some firms did not fulfil their contract.

The extent to which firms met their obligation to participate varied according to their size: 43,000, or 40 per cent of them, fell below the minimum although they accounted for only 18 per cent of the total work force and 17 per cent of the wage bill; 29,000, or 28 per cent, were at the minimum level and accounted for 18 per cent of the work force and 15 per cent of the wage bill; the remaining firms, i.e. 32 per cent, exceeded the minimum employing 75 per cent of the work force and paying 78 per cent of the wage bill.

Overall expenditure can be broken down under three main headings:

- 20 per cent on in-firm training;
- 31 per cent on implementing agreements;
- 36 per cent on the remuneration of trainees.

The balance covers various contributions entailed by compulsory participation.

Most of these training courses are designed to brush up or improve existing skills and are, therefore, short courses. Those attending them provide only a very imperfect reflection of the socio-occupational structure of industry, but this is not surprising in a

field in which only managerial staff were previously offered training schemes. Out of 850,000 trainees, there were 150,000 semi-skilled workers (17 per cent), 250,000 skilled and non-manual workers (32 per cent), 230,000 supervisors and technicians (27 per cent) and 200,000 engineers and managerial staff (23 per cent). This means that 6 per cent of workers took a training course, compared with 25 per cent of supervisors, technicians, engineers or managerial staff.

The rapid and steady increase in funds allocated to continuing occupational training by the government called for an improvement in the budgetary arrangements. Accordingly, since 1969 the bulk of the government appropriations for occupational training has been dealt with as part of a blanket allocation ("enveloppe") for continuing occupational training. This, in addition to the appropriations entered in the Prime Minister's budget (funds for occupational training and remuneration of trainees), includes the appropriations for adult occupational training in the budget of the Ministry of Labour and allocations for a number of activities conducted directly by the Ministry for National Education (Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, Centre National de Télé-enseignement, occupational training courses)

Under this procedure the financing of activities is co-ordinated more effectively as a result of close collaboration between the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Finance and the co-ordinated occupational training bodies when the blanket allocation is decided and, subsequently, when it is divided among the budgets of the various ministries concerned.

The blanket allocation for occupational training increased from Frs.1,200 million in 1970 to almost Frs.1,800 million in 1972 and Frs.2,500 million in 1974 including the following amounts for operating costs: Frs.1,000 million in 1970; Frs.1,500 million in 1972; Frs.2,200 million in 1974. The volume of the appropriations earmarked for operating costs has therefore increased substantially. The increase in appropriations for equipment, though not negligible, remains on a smaller scale.

The appropriations for the "Fonds de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion Sociale", which finances agreements between the government and training bodies participating in the policy on continuing occupational training, increased from Frs.196 million in 1967 to Frs.331 million in 1970, Frs.440 million in 1972 and Frs.530 million in 1974, operating costs accounting for: Frs.272 million in 1970; Frs.370 million in 1972; Frs.428 million in 1974.

The number of trainees taking courses sponsored by the "Fonds de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion Sociale" increased from 278,000 in 1970 to 572,000 in 1973. The length of courses has been gradually increasing and those covered by the "Fonds" in 1972 were attended as follows:

- less than 120 hours:	233,000 trainees
- 120 to 300 hours:	102,000 "
- 300 to 1,100 hours:	98,000 "
- over 1,100 hours:	54,000 "

The number of trainees at levels V, IV and III - skilled workers, supervisory staff and technicians - doubled between 1970 and 1972, while there was an increase of only 50 per cent at levels I and II. Some 150,000 trainees were remunerated from official funds in 1973 to a total of Frs.720 million as compared with Frs.358 million in 1970 and Frs.550 million in 1972.

Chapter II

CONTINUING OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING AS AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE BETWEEN INNOVATION AND THE REPRODUCTION OF EXISTING SOCIAL PATTERNS

1. Steps towards establishing a pattern of alternating periods of work and training

Over and above its response to a number of economic problems and its clear intent to make continuing training an instrument of social change, the value of the Act of 16th July, 1971 is that it promotes the emergence of a pattern of alternate periods of employment and training, and the same may be said of the measures that followed the Act.

A prerequisite for any large-scale increase in occupational training and social advancement among employed workers is the recognition of their entitlement to take temporary leave either with (whenever possible) or without remuneration. Without this right only the most enterprising individuals will seek training, and in view of the workload resulting from the combination of a full-time job and a training activity, even they are likely to be discouraged, as experience with the C.N.A.M. and evening classes has shown. It has been demonstrated, for example, that families in which the head is studying for an engineering degree while working full-time have fewer children than the national average. However, entitlement to paid training leave is enjoyed in only a relatively small number of cases.

As regards contractual arrangements, a few collective or works agreements - mostly subsequent to 1960 - make provision for the re-employment of workers following a training course or credit them with paid hours. As regards legislation, the unpaid leave totalling twelve days per year, as provided for under the Act of 23rd July, 1957, related solely to collective upgrading. The unpaid leave totalling 6 days per year, for which provision was made under the Act of 29th December, 1961, related only to the training of leaders of youth groups or instructors for popular education schemes.

The first provision of a general nature is Section 11 of the Act of 3rd December, 1966 which states that, "workers attending government-supervised training or upgrading courses provided under

legislation or regulations shall be entitled, on application to their employer, to leave of absence corresponding to the length of the course provided it does not exceed one year". However, this provision could not be implemented as the necessary regulations were never issued.

A fundamental innovation was made in this field by the Agreement of 9th July, 1970 and the Act of 16th July, 1971, whereby any employee over 21 with at least 2 years' service in the firm for which he works is entitled to request and obtain leave of absence from his employer, provided that no more than 2 or 4 per cent of the firm's work force (the figure depending on whether the training initiative is taken by the employee or the head of firm) are absent at the same time.

As regards the remuneration of workers on leave, the Agreement of 9th July, 1970 differentiates between three types of case:

- workers who take training courses specifically in compliance with the firm's decision: the firms undertake to pay their training expenses and wages during the course up to a limit of one year for full-time courses and 1,200 hours for part-time courses;
- workers wishing to take courses listed by joint trade committees on employment: the firms undertake to remunerate the workers for up to 160 hours;
- workers wishing to attend any other course are only entitled to leave without remuneration.

Pursuant to the Act of 16th July, 1971 on continuing occupational training, workers taking leave unremunerated by their firms may: receive government aid if they are taking a course sponsored or approved by the government; receive compensatory remuneration from a "Fonds d'Assurance Formation"; or take the course without remuneration. In any event they retain their right to social security and family allowances.

These arrangements are supplemented by another Act of 16th July, 1971 on technological training whereby young graduates may take up an occupation for a number of years on the understanding that they will be able to return to their studies after a few years' professional experience.

Thus, under Section 12 of the Act, holders of degrees or other qualifications in technological fields may be awarded a "training credit" or, more familiarly, an "education cheque" which will enable them to return to more advanced studies under the provisions laid down by the Act of 16th July, 1971 concerning occupational upgrading courses.

The machinery can certainly be improved, and this is the aim of the proposals made by Mr. B. Schwartz in his book "L'Education

Demain". These proposals were considered by the Ministry of Labour Working Group: "Assouplissement du temps au niveau de l'existence" (Introduction of flexibility into life routines) headed by Mr. J. de Chalandar. They differentiate between employees under and over 25, proposing that each worker over 25 should be authorised to take leave equivalent to ten per cent of the time worked during his life, i.e. one year in every ten, or even a single four-year period after the age of 25, irrespective of the length of the initial period of studies. As regards workers under 25, the proposals tend to consolidate the system of education cheques by guaranteeing each young worker who has been employed for a minimum period of three years at least one year of full-time remunerated studies.

Mr. B. Schwartz rightly lays stress on the twofold advantage of such a measure: (i) it encourages those who do not feel mature enough to continue their course or who lose interest to drop out without fear of being unable to recommence later; (ii) it helps those who have been misdirected to switch to other types of course. However, the Working Group "Assouplissement du temps au niveau de l'existence" feels that the education cheque will not suffice to promote the development of alternating education.

If families with children at school or university continue to enjoy certain social benefits and tax concessions that are not granted to those whose children find paid employment earlier, they can hardly be expected to curtail this regular schooling in favour of immediate employment and later study. Neither can any substantial increase in part-time studies be expected if part-time employment entails foregoing most of the above advantages, as in the case of full-time employment.

A thoroughgoing recurrent education policy would therefore call for: reform of the family allowance system under which the benefits (normally up to the age of 16) are maintained for children enrolled in an approved educational establishment; reform of health insurance; and reform of the basis of income tax assessment.

Furthermore, it is essential that the degrees and qualifications obtained through continuing training should be identical to those obtained through the various forms of initial training, and no distinction should be made between graduates with reference to the lines on which they worked for their qualifications.

Such is the essential procedure adopted under Section 8 of the Act of 16th July, 1971 on technological education.

The Act states that: "the degrees or qualifications in technological education shall be acquired through schools and universities, apprenticeship or continuing occupational training.

"Teaching methods and the monitoring of the skills and proficiency acquired may differ according to the specific characteristics of each system.

"Degrees or diplomas awarded for completion of occupational training in establishments not supervised by the Minister of Education shall be entered, under the conditions prescribed in subsequent enactments, on the list of equivalent qualifications provided in the preceding paragraph".

These decisions are consistent with the approach adopted by a working group set up just before the Act was passed to establish a procedure to determine the bodies entitled to award degrees and diplomas. This group drew attention to the two purposes of any diploma: the educational purpose, i.e. to provide access to advanced studies or entrance to an examination; and the occupational purpose, i.e. evidence of a qualification equivalent to a proficiency test, a trial period of employment or an employer's certificate. It concluded in favour of awarding diplomas, not as proof of a qualification but as evidence that a course of studies has been taken, the employer being entitled to determine and assess the qualifications himself. If the system of equivalent qualifications proves effective, this approach should facilitate the hiring, the mobility and, consequently, the independence of workers holding such qualifications.

The principle that there shall be no difference between the diplomas earned in regular schooling and in continuing training will no doubt meet considerable resistance, if not in the universities, at least in the elite institutions of higher education ("grandes écoles"). However, any other approach would clearly mean that graduates of continuing training courses would be debarred from exercising planning functions which would be reserved for those who had followed conventional channels of study and would therefore be detrimental to continuing training. But perhaps more needs to be done!

As long as there was no entitlement to training leave, persons in employment could only take further education courses at evening classes or, more generally, courses outside working hours, correspondence courses or other forms of outside education not requiring absence during working hours. Training leave opens up a much wider range of adult educational possibilities:

- daily or weekly courses during working hours;
- alternating periods of work and training over several months;
- full-time training schemes over a longer period (six months, one year).

It must not be assumed that evening classes are now obsolete. They should only gradually give way to other systems and the flexibility offered by the possibility of combining such systems should facilitate further training for workers already employed. On the other hand, care should be taken that short training courses are not systematically preferred to longer ones because they call for less

effort from trainees and enable firms to reduce the period for which they have to release their workers.

This problem can clearly be solved by devising training schemes that are divided up into separate units each contributing to the qualification. With such an arrangement the short training periods can be added together to provide the same results as at the end of a long training period.

A major step in this direction was taken by the Order ('arrêté') of 13th June, 1972 whereby "the examination for the award of the skilled tradesman's certificate ('certificat d'aptitude professionnelle') may be taken in the form of a series of tests which allow for the continuous monitoring of the knowledge and skills required in each of the basic units defined for every field of specialisation considered. For each basic unit of training, a certificate of proficiency is awarded and the 'certificat d'aptitude professionnelle' is obtained when all the certificates of proficiency needed for a given field of specialisation have been acquired".

2. Difficulties at school and university level

It is clear that the mobilisation of the educational system for purposes of continuing training cannot be achieved without considerable effort.

Educational establishments will have to accept a range of training tasks. In addition to training in the stricter sense, they will have to be responsible for analysing the requirements of trainees, affording them information, accommodation and guidance, and maintaining records of their progress. They will have to ignore the concept of level (to some extent at any rate), especially the distinction between secondary and higher education. They will have to recognise that awarding a diploma is not the only purpose of their training, and they will have to accept the idea that the national budget is not the sole source of finance and develop a system of pricing the services they provide.

Several steps were taken in 1972 and 1973 to enable the Ministry of Education to implement the Act of 16th July, 1971 which deals with these matters.

A specialist ("délégué académique") in continuing training will in future collaborate with the regional educational administration in defining its policy, supervising the schemes pursued in the various educational establishments, allocating resources from the Ministry of Education budget and preparing applications by educational establishments or other claimants for government sponsorship and financial assistance. On behalf of the administration he will maintain contact with regional or local bodies pursuing the training

policy, heads of regional departments of ministries and organisations representing employers and workers. He will also centralise training applications submitted by firms.

Educational establishments will be grouped to co-ordinate their training activities in a given geographical district which will normally have an information and guidance centre. Training centres for teachers in adult courses ("Centres Intégrés de Formation de Formateurs d'Adultes - C.I.F.F.A."), responsible to the "délégué académique", will prepare personnel of the public educational system for duties in the continuing training sector. The Ministry of Education has also agreed to negotiate "initial aid contracts" with the universities in order to set up small units which, in consultation with a tripartite board comprising representatives of the employers and workers, will endeavour to determine the main lines on which to pursue their action, consistent with their responsibilities and resources and the needs expressed.

Under a Decree of 13th February, 1973 an agency was set up for the development of lifelong education ("Agence pour le Développement de l'Education Permanente - ADEP") with the following aims:

- to help to determine and organise the demand for training, analyse the requirements expressed and make full use of the resources of the public education system;
- to initiate, promote and develop both individual and collective continuing training schemes;
- to be directly responsible or to make the necessary arrangements for any studies and research in the field of lifelong education requested by the Minister of Education.

These measures make no provision for a number of problems, one of which concerns the rules and regulations for teachers, particularly university staff. At the present time senior lecturers are statutorily required to teach three hours per week for 25 weeks a year, while assistant lecturers teach 6 hours per week for the same period. Although these arrangements are geared to the type of education now offered by universities, they are unsuited to the requirements and methods of continuing training. Furthermore, no distinction is made between administrative and teaching staff in the case of training activities which combine situation analysis and practical work. Lastly, the current method of selecting teachers benefits those engaged on in-depth study in a specific field but works greatly to the disadvantage of those who seek to popularise a whole discipline. If this tendency is not corrected, teachers in the field of continuing occupational training will be discouraged.

Many difficulties also remain to be solved in connection with the remuneration of teachers, irrespective of whether they are from the private or public sector. The concern for private teachers is

usually the rate of pay, whereas teachers employed by the public education system must choose between payment by the job or payment in the form of overtime. As long as the training activities for which teachers are required are not of a long-term nature, payment by job will be somewhat uncertain. Payment in the form of overtime remains limited, since overtime paid out of government appropriations must conform to existing scales while overtime paid out of the operating budgets of universities cannot normally be paid to teachers in the public education system.

As regards overtime, however, there is competition between the public and private training sectors, irrespective of whether staff belong to the private or public system. Even within the public sector, moreover, the systems of initial and continuing training are in competition since a very large proportion of teaching in the context of initial training takes the form of overtime.

The problem of teachers is compounded by the problem of premises. In this connection, the rule that teachers are responsible for equipment in their classrooms has long proved an obstacle to more flexible conditions for the use of school premises. However, there is now a gradual tendency to make schools available to outside users. Here it is worth observing that the policy of continuing occupational training is not alone in eroding traditional procedures in the educational system. As long ago as 1971 an inter-ministerial commission on integrated equipment was set up by the Prime Minister's Office to "study every kind of problem arising in connection with the planning, construction, management and operation of equipment designed for the co-ordinated development of certain educational, cultural and social or open-air activities".

Integration is not of course necessarily centred on an educational establishment, but "historically, and in most projects, this approach is linked to the renovation of the educational system and its association with the development of lifelong education"(1). At the Marly Conference in March 1973, Mr. Schwartz stressed the advantages of vertical integration to give continuity to projects designed for people of different ages (link between education for young people and for adults), and of horizontal integration to enable young people and adults to develop their independence, foster their civic sense, eliminate social segregation by breaking down social barriers and broaden educational objectives.

Integration has begun to become a reality with the new centres of Grenoble and Istres supplementing the pre-existing Centre at Yerres, and with all three co-ordinated around an educational establishment.

1) "Equipements intégrés - Secrétariat de la Commission Interministérielle pour les équipements intégrés" - March 1974.

An analysis of these experiments shows that in fact they have greatly facilitated the continuity of the educational process, the elimination of barriers (merging of Classes 6 I-II-III at Istres and the general adoption of the system of options at Yerres), and contacts with the outside world.

At present, the only educational establishments to be integrated are nursery schools, primary schools and the C.E.S.,but the projects planned for the new towns cover all educational establishments and all training levels. However, it does not seem that the Ministry of National Education has a thoroughgoing integration policy as yet, nor that it has overcome all its misgivings with regard to any form of integration that it would not itself control.

It is still too early to determine the effects of continuing training policy on trends in initial training. There has so far been little development of school experiments designed, not so much to ensure that employed workers can return to training under favourable conditions, as to provide the right conditions for preparing school children to make good use of the continuing training to which they may be entitled when they become adults. However, a determination to deal with this issue is increasingly evident in educational reforms or reform projects. Thus, the gradual introduction of the "set" system of ability grouping in secondary schools to replace streaming (Classes I, II and III) makes it possible to: avoid prematurely guiding children in particular directions; seek different teaching methods geared to the work rates and aptitudes of each child; and improve and harmonise methods of testing proficiency.

Similarly, closer attention to content is gradually leading to greater curriculum flexibility. The idea is not simply to lighten curricula but to make them less rigid. The trend is towards high-level and low-level curricula, which some observers consider is inherent in the concept of ability grouping, while others are still apprehensive that it might lead to a cleavage between the majority who would be assigned to the low-level curriculum and the elite for whom the high-level curriculum would be reserved.

Lastly, experiments such as the 10 per cent scheme introduced in 1973/1974(1) indicate that the national education authorities want schools to provide time for outward-looking activities concerned with life in the outside world. Most educational authorities have made good use of this scheme, although some have resolutely disregarded its scope by excluding socio-educational activities and any studies not habitually a part of school life or by refusing to allow contacts between pupils and people from outside the school.

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1) A circular of 27th March, 1973 allowed lycées and secondary colleges a 10 per cent margin of latitude in their organisation of school work by reducing the syllabus in each discipline by this margin. The experiment is being renewed in 1974/75.

3. Problems in industry

In the last analysis, the success of any continuing training policy is measured by the way it changes the lives of workers.

The training agreements scheme introduced under the Act of 16th July, 1971 has brought new educational establishments into play: firms, inter-firm centres, chambers of commerce and industry and other associations. Recurrent education is bound to call for a range of educational and teaching resources of this kind. But, however diverse these resources are, workers must not be denied the guarantees offered by the regular educational institutions. Care must be taken to avoid the growth of: establishments that operate like public educational institutions and present the same deficiencies but not the same advantages; bogus training establishments which would merely act as intermediaries, collecting substantial fees in exchange for almost no services; or establishments prepared to co-operate with the least progressive employers by adopting their training aims to the detriment of the workers' requirements.

The problem of training in or by firms has always been a subject of heated discussion between representatives of workers and employers. Such training probably contributes less to the autonomy of workers than training acquired on their own initiative through outside agencies unconnected with the firm. The main drawbacks of training in or by the firm are that it may be planned with a view to integration and have a narrow utilitarian purpose, that the information collected on the performance of trainees may be used for selection purposes and that the qualifications acquired may not be transferable by the award of any recognised diploma.

On the other hand, some types of training can hardly be given outside the firm and, when workers go on independent training courses, they often find it difficult to make full use of this training on returning to the firm. G. Levard puts the problem in a nutshell in his preface to one of Raymond Vatie's books: "Although there is nothing to prevent firms from providing technical training for their workforce, it is inconceivable that they should shape the thinking of the individual worker in his capacity as a citizen."

A possible solution is to take any socio-cultural education out of the hands of the firm and ensure that the types of training given on its own initiative are never conceded as a favour. This approach has been adopted by most of the efficient training bodies which co-operate with firms, and particularly the CESI. The outcome is that these bodies never intervene at the request of a firm without the prior agreement of the workers' council. There is no doubt that this procedure might advantageously be made compulsory.

What may workers expect from continuing training? May they expect promotion, higher earnings, or simply an improvement in their qualifications, not necessarily accompanied by a wage increase? The

day will no doubt come when it will be necessary "to recognise the *dissociation between the level of* education and the job held" and no doubt "until this is so, any assessment of the problem of education will be distorted by misunderstandings"(1). However, if this principle were now invoked to refuse workers occupational advancement and better wages after they have agreed to training, it would certainly serve to discourage them.

This problem becomes particularly acute in the case of workers at the lowest socio-occupational levels. What can be offered to this category of wage-earner? To offer them training for promotion would presuppose that opportunities for advancement are also provided. This is not always feasible, however, either in the firm or in the regional context, and the provision of such training would give rise to such serious dissatisfaction that the community hardly feels disposed to run the risk involved. To offer such workers training projects outside the occupational sector may have very different results according to whether such activities are of a purely cultural nature for consumption with other similar ones or, in contrast, provide an initiation into essential aspects of economic and social life or concern the daily lives of the workers themselves.

The first case would involve the danger of consolidating the cleavage between the employee's alienated working life and his free time, which might well be free in theory but would in fact entail another form of alienation. In the second case, it has to be accepted that the training activities would offer the opportunity to find out how the political, economic and social machinery works, and thus realisation might radically change the social equilibrium in industry and the country in general.

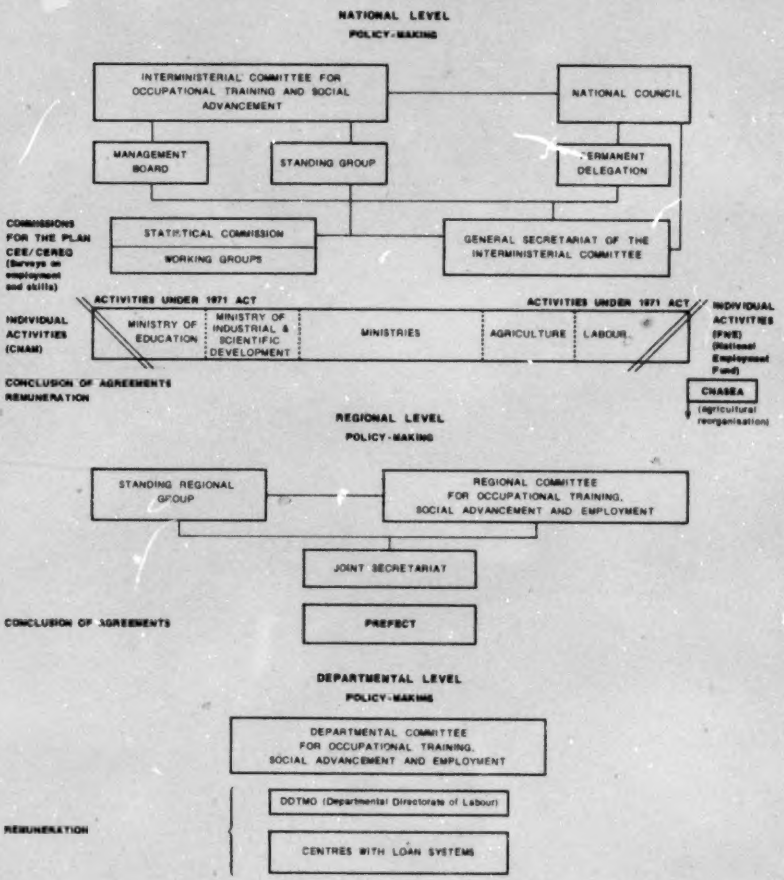
The trade unions themselves are not unanimous on this question. Some consider it essential to encourage awareness of the economic and social machinery, which is broadly the view of the C.F.D.T. Others believe that efforts to promote continuing occupational training should focus solely on increasing workers' qualifications, while "cultural" objectives should be pursued elsewhere. This is broadly the view of the C.G.T.

In these circumstances, any attempt to find types of action geared to the needs of the lowest-paid workers would be frustrated by a conspiracy of silence. This would be inevitable unless continuing occupational training were to be mobilised in the context of an active campaign against existing forms of the division of labour, ceased to be an instrument for individual advancement in an unchanged structure with limited scope for absorbing new qualifications, and became a medium for the collective preparation of workers to assume new forms of responsibility.

1) J. Delors: "Les Finalités de l'Education", National Conference on Education, November 1973.

ANNEXES

ORGANISATION CHART OF BODIES CONCERNED IN THE CO-ORDIN TED POLICY ON OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT



TREND IN OVERALL APPROPRIATIONS FOR CONTINUING OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

Operation of training courses -	1972	1973	Estimates 1974
_ Ministry of Labour:			
- FPA (Adult occupational training)	432,801,190	503,971,790	582,771,790
- FNE (National Employment Fund)	29,950.000	34,450,000	39,450,000
- Ministry of Education:			
- CNAM (Confederation Nationale de l'Artisanat et des Metiers)	34,675,088	46,409,247	51,456,499
- Television courses	33,699,701	39,921,557	43,363,413
- RTS (Radio and TV courses for workers)	3,988,428	5,324,720	6,295,141
- ADEP (Agency for the Development of Lifelong Education)	13,388,242	13,000,000	14,800,000
- Experimental projects	6,000,000	5,721,000	5,721,000
- Ministry of Industrial Development - Foundation	325,662,715	373,130,715	428,420,715
-Fonds de la FP (Occupational Training Fund)	880,165,364	1,021,929,029	1,174,278,558
Total	550,180,609	591,532,609	872,781,161
Remuneration of Trainees	3,990,000	8,400,000	8,900,000
Proficiency testing	1,434,335,973	1,621,861,638	2,055,959,719
Total operating expenditure			
Equipment (authorisation of expenditure)			
- FPA (Adult occupational training)	160,000,000	163,500,000	170,000,000
- Ministry of Education	50,000,000	63,000,000	70,000,000
- Fonds de la FP (Occupational Training Fund)	70,000,000	99,000,000	103,000,000
Total expenditure on equipment	280,000,000	325,000,000	343,000,000
GRAND TOTAL	1,714,335,973	1,946,861,638	2,398,959,719

Sources: Budgetary annexes.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE BENEFITING FROM TRAINING SCHEMES

	1972	Estimates 1973
Schemes under agreements, financed by the "Fonds de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion Sociale" (Fund for occupational training)	520,000	572,000
Schemes not covered by agreements but financed by the "Fonds de la Formation Professionnelle"	198,000	180,000
Schemes not covered by agreements but financed from the overall appropriations for occupational training (not from the "Fonds de la Formation Professionnelle")	238,000 (1)	260,000 (1)
TOTAL	956,000	1,012,000

1) Trainees taking trade courses have been deducted from this figure and are now included under apprenticeships.

BREAKDOWN OF TRAINEES FINANCED BY THE "FONDS DE LA FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE" BY TYPE OF TRAINING

	1972	1973
Apprentices	25,000 (1)	28,000 (1)
Retraining courses for persons threatened by unemployment	78,000	85,000
Reconversion	35,000	39,000
Upgrading	76,000	85,000
Refresher courses and further training	273,000	300,000
General training for occupational purposes	33,000	36,000
TOTAL	520,000	572,000

1) The apprentice training centres have been deducted from this figure and are now included under apprenticeships.

BREAKDOWN OF TRAINEES FINANCED BY THE "FONDS DE LA FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE" BY LEVEL OF TRAINING

	1972
Levels I - II - III	176,000
Level IV	164,000
Levels V - VI	147,000
TOTAL	487,000 (1)

1) Excluding correspondence courses, etc.

BREAKDOWN OF TRAINEES FINANCED BY THE "FONDS DE LA FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE" BY LENGTH OF TRAINING

	Less than 120 hours	121 to 300 hours	301 to 1100 hours	Over 1100 hours	TOTAL
1972	233,000	102,000	98,000	54,000	487,000

BREAKDOWN OF TRAINEES FINANCED BY THE "FONDS DE LA FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE" BY JOINT CONTRACTING PARTNERS

	1972
Public education establishments	139,000
Public agricultural institutions	12,000
Other public establishments	-
Private agricultural centres	24,000
Private educational associations and establishments	82,000
Chambers of Commerce and Industry	82,000
Associations of craft industries (Chambres de metiers)	30,000
Trade associations	42,000
Firms	57,000
Other training centres	19,000
TOTAL	487,000

BREAKDOWN OF TRAINEES FINANCED BY THE "FONDS DE LA FORMATION PROFESSIONNELLE" BY ECONOMIC SECTORS AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

	1970	1971	1972
Primary sector (groups 01 and 02)	23.000	24,000	33,000
Secondary sector (groups 03 to 28)			
Building (05)	3,000	3,000	3,000
Forging, boilermaking, etc.,structural steelwork (09)	5,000	7,000	14,000
Mechanical engineering, production engineering, automated systems (10)	10,000	21,000	26,000
Electrical engineering	4,000	7,000	16,000
Electronics (12)	4,000	7,000	9,000
Chemistry, physics, biochemistry, biology (16)	3,000	4,000	6,000
Woodworking (23)	2,000	4,000	3,000
Operating contractors' plant (24)	6,000	5,000	7,000
Industrial draughtsmen (27)	1,000	5,000	8,000
Organisation and methods, production management (28)	14,000	13,000	13,000
Other types of training for the secondary sector	11,000	12,000	32,000
Total	63,000	84,000	147,000
Tertiary sector (groups 29 to 41):			
Secretarial work, typing, shorthand-typing (30)	2,000	7,000	10,000
Financial or accounting techniques (31)	5,000	8,000	15,000
Electro-mechanical and electronic data processing techniques (32)	4,000	16,000	19,000
Commerce and distribution (33)	11,000	15,000	17,000
Education, group leadership (35)	6,000	7,000	12,000
Health, paramedical and social sector (37)	5,000	19,000	17,000
Personal services (38)	-	4,000	5,000
Other types of training for the tertiary sector	6,000	3,000	8,000
Total	43,000	79,000	103,000
General training (groups 42 to 47):			
Managerial training (42)	10,000	13,000	19,000
Literary or linguistic training (43)	13,0002	27,000	37,000
Economic, business, legal or management training (44)	36,000	34,000	39,000
General training in science or technology (45)	37,000	33,000	48,000
Early training and comprehensive training for occupations (46)	20,000	30,000	44,000
Other types of general training (47)	3,000	15,000	17,000
Total	129,000	152,000	204,000
TOTAL ORAL COURSES	258,000	343,000	487,000

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